CONSIDERATIONS

UPON A

Printed Sheet

ENTITULED THE

SPEECH

Of the LATE

Lord Russel

TO THE

SHERIFFS:

TOGETHER,

With the *PAPER* delivered by Him to Them, at the Place of Execution, on *July* 21. 1683.

The Third Impression.

LONDON,
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MDCLXXXIII.

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CONSIDERATIONS

To the READER.

[IT is better to Obey God, then Man] *says the* Text. [It is better to Obey the Devil then God] *says the* Comment. *And are not those People now in a Happy State, d'ye think, that know not One Step of the Way to Heaven* Themselves; *and have such* Interpreters *for their* Guides? **This** *is the* **True Form** of Godliness that Denies the **Power** of it; *And* **This** *the* Principle, *that, wherever it takes* Root, *loosens the* Foundations *of* Civil Government, *and* Obedience; *And makes way for the* Erecting *of a* Kingdom of Darkness *upon* Those Ruines. *There's a Great Deal in That same* Old Adage; [Where God has his Church, The Devil has his Chappel;] *for* Religion *is as well the* Presence *of the* Worst *of Men, as it is the* Duty, *and* Business *of the* Best. *Where* Satan *cannot prevail for* Idolatry, *he'l content himself with* Heresy, *and* Schism; *And with the* dashing *of* One Altar *against* Another. *Where he cannot* Overthrow *the very* Ground *of our* Faith, *he'l Compound for* Liberty of Conscience, *And some* Plausible *ways of* Disguising *it. Next to the setting up of a* False **God**, *is the Begetting a* **False** Opinion *of the* **True** One; *Which is almost an* Equivalent; *Only the* One's a Material; *And the* Other's a Notional Idol: *The* One's the work of our Hands; *And the* Other *of our* **Imagination**. *At this rate, it is, that we* Confound Realities, *and* Appearances; Fancy, *and* Conscience.

This may look perhaps as if I were quite Running away, both from my Reader, *and from my* Business; *But I am, in truth, upon the very* Point *of my* Subject. *What was it that* **Ruin'd** *that* **Unhappy** *Lord,* (*Whose Case is the Argument of this Paper*; *And whose* Unhappy Fate, I Lament from my Soul) *but the being* Bigotted *into* This Princi-

ple? *And what* Kingdom, *or* Government, *where it* Obtains, *is able to ſtand* againſt *it? If* Lucifer himſelf *were let* Looſe, *he would* Preach *upon* That Scripture *of* Mat. 10. 28. *And* Pervert the Text. *This* Doctrine *of* Reſiſtance *in caſe of* Religion, *is the* Source *of all our* Feares, *and* Jealouſies, Seditions *and* Conſpiracies; *Men that are* Drunk, *will* Sleep *themſelves* Sober *again. We have* Bedlams *for* Lunaticks. Gibbets, Pillories, Whipping-Poſts, *and* Jayles *for* Common Criminals: *But there's* No Diſcipline, No Cure *for* Enthuſiaſts. *Is* Religion *at Stake? Bring in* [a Bill againſt the Duke of *York* to diſable him from Inheriting the Imperial Crown.] *Is* Popery *the Queſtion? Come to a* Reſolution *Immediately*, [That if his Majeſty ſhall come by any Violent Death, (*No matter who kills him*) it ſhall be Reveng'd upon the Papiſts.] *Is there a* **Popiſh Plott**? *'Tis but the* Bricoling *of a* True Proteſtant Aſſociation, *that upon the* Falſe Bound *ſhall* Play *upon the* Government. *And then we are to Conſider again, that* This Propoſition *is not only an* Incentive *to a* Rebellion, *and a* Juſtification *of it*; *but it makes the* **Concealment** *of the* **Conſpirators** *as much a Point of* Conſcience, *as the* **Treaſon it ſelf**. *And how* Ridiculous *then is the* Pretence *of* Defending *that by* **Force**, *which no* **Force** *can* reach? *I never heard of any mans* Religion *yet that was taken away upon the* Pad.

Upon This Maxim *is Grounded all that is* Miſchievous, *or* Dangerous, *in the* Subject *of* Theſe Conſiderations; *And I have* done *what I thought my* Duty *to* Do *in the* Expoſing *of it.* Theſe Papers *had come out* ſooner, *but that I was* Trick'd *into a* Delay: *But* Julian is in the bottom on't; And I'le forgive any man that ſtands up for his **Author**.

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON A

Printed Sheet,

ENTITULED THE

SPEECH

Of the LATE

Lord Ruſſel

To the SHERIFFS, &c.

I Have not ſet Pen to Paper upon this Subject, without firſt conſulting all the Points of Decency and Duty, which I thought might properly fall within the Limits of this Diſcourſe: As the Honour of a Noble Family; the Quality and Misfortune of an Eminent Perſon, together with matter of common Reſpect to *Truth*, *Juſtice*, *Chriſtian Charity*, *Candor*, and *Good Manners*: Having no other end

in

in these considerations, then to do a *Fair* and *Necessary Right* to the *Government*, within *that Compass*; I call it a *Right* to the *Government*, because there is not *one sound Part* in the whole *Body* of it, from *Head* to *Foot*; if this Paper may be Credited: And as the business has been *Managed* and *Improved*, [**The Cry of Innocent Blood against Oppression and Injustice,**] would have been a *Title* much more Suitable to the *Air* and *Drift* of it, then that which it now bears. It carries the *Face* indeed of the *Testimony* of a *Dying Man*: But yet if a Body considers either the *Style*, the *Scope*, the *Declarative*, or the *Confessing Part* of it, there's nothing less in't: Not so much as *one Period*, without a *Starting-hole*, where there lyes any *stress* upon the *Truth*, either of the *Intention*, or of the *Fact* in *Question*: Now for this Vein to run *quite through* it in a *Constant Course* of *Reserve*, *Mystery* and *Disguise*, there needs no more to Prove, that it was *Designed* for an *Amusement*: for **Methods** never come by **Chance**; so that the *Artifice* is not wholly to be *Neglected*; and yet I shall not lay more *weight* upon't than the Thing will *bear*.

The *Two Points* in *Consideration* are the **Speech** and the **Paper**. Now some will have it, that though the **Speech** was certainly my Lord *Russels*, there may be some doubt yet concerning the **Paper** that went along with it. And this Conjecture

ſture they ground upon the *Ambiguities* that Occur, both in the *Title*, and in the *Speech it Self*, which they Reaſon upon, after this manner. The **Title**, they ſay, tells us barely of the **Delivery** of it by my Lord *Ruſſel*: And then in the **Speech**, there is not One *Syllable* more, concerning the *Paper* ſo *Deliver'd* than *Theſe Numerical Words* [*Mr. Sheriff, I have ſet down in This Paper all that I think fit to leave behind me.*] My Lord does not firſt *Read* This *Paper* to the *Sheriff*, and then *Own* it. My Lord does not ſay [*Mr. Sheriff, The Contents of This Paper are True, in the whole, and in every part of it, So Help me God.*] My Lord does not ſay, [*Mr. Sheriff, I do here deliver this Paper to you upon my* Death, *as the Truth, and the Full Truth of my Caſe.*] But my Lord ſays, [*I have* **Set down** *in This Paper.*] which **Setting down** imports no more than the *ſimple* **writing** of it: And ſo goes forward [*All that I* **Think fit** *to leave behind me*] which might have been as well ſaid, in this Caſe, if the Paper had been an *Act of Parliament*, inſtead of the *Teſtimony of a Dying Man*. And what's the meaning again of [*All that I think* **Fit**] in This Place? Theſe Words by a *Scotch Figure*, may ſignifie, as the Reader pleaſes; either *Any Thing*, or juſt *Nothing at all*; But however at a venture, a Man may conclude that there is ſomething **More** yet, which he does *Not think fit to ſet down*; And *That*, for ought any

Body

Body knows, may be *All* that is **worth** *setting down*; Or (which is the same thing) *All* that the Reader will find **missing** in *This Paper*. And then, why [**Leave behind me?**] (they say) unless in the *Literal Sense*, That *I do not Carry it with me*; for there's no *Attestation*, Annex'd to't; No *Solemnity* of *Acknowledgment* or *Protestation* to Accompany the Delivery of it; no *Circumstance* to make it a *Memorial* of any thing more than the Transferring of the *Paper* out of *One* hand into *Another*; insomuch, that the matter lies at *Fast* or *Loose*, whether *this Paper* shall be *Reputed my Lords Act* or *no*.

My Answer is, that this Paper was **Written** by my Lord; **Subscribed** by my Lord; **Delivered** by my Lord; and that by these *Visible Solemnities* it became *My Lords Act*.

It was Manifestly *My Lords* **Intention** that it should be **Taken** for *His Act*; And it is but *Common Justice* to *allow* and to *understand* it so to be. It has been likewise *Published* and *made use of* by some of my Lords nearest Relations, **As** *my Lords Act*, and with Infinite *Zeal* for his Lordships *Advantage* and *Behoof*. Now after all these *Authoritative* and *Punctual Formalities* of Proceeding, there is not any Man that has a Tenderness for the *Memory* of That *Unhappy Person*, but would rather *Entitle* him to this Paper, (how ill contriv'd soever) than charge him, on the other hand, with *double-*

dealing

dealing and *mental Reservations* at his *Last Hour*; As if his *dying Thoughts* had been only taken up with Studying how to lead *People* into the *dark*; and to *amuse* the World with a *Riddle*, never to be *unfolded*, after the Closing of his Lordships Eyes, till the Day of *Judgment*. But let every Man take it which way he pleases, it comes, in my Opinion, to the same Issue at last; That is to say, Take the *Speech* and the *Paper*, **Together**; or take them **apart**, 'tis much at one.

[*God knows* (says the Speech) *how far I was always from* Designs *against the Kings* Person, *or of Altering the Government.*]

This Passage now according to the sincerity of *Popular Usage* and *Construction* is as much as to say, [*God knows it, I was ever against these ways;*] But then if a Man looks at it through a pair of *Reformation-Spectacles*, 'tis a meer *deceptio visus*; and there is nothing at all to be seen; for a body may be up to the *Ears* in a *Design*, and yet Cry out with a *safe Conscience* [*God knows how far I am against it.*] But there follows another Clause that seems to come closer a great deal, *i. e.*

[*In the Words of a* Dying Man, *I Profess I know of no Plot, either against the* Kings Life, *or the* Government.]

These Words, in *plain, honest English* ought to pass for *Current*, and as good as *Sterling* betwixt

Man and Man; but he that reads them with a *Kirk-Comment*, will put them to All *Touches* and *Tests*, if he be *wise*, before he *Receives* them. [I **Never knew** *of any* Plot] would have been much *Fuller* and much *Homer* to the *Indictment*, than [I **know** *of no* Plot;] For the neck of it is now broken; and it is no longer in *Being*. And then in the *Restraining* of that Disclaimer, to the *Kings* **Life**, or the **Government**; There's a *Salvo* left yet for the *Seizing of the* **Guards**, and for the **Imprisoning, Deposing**, or doing any **other** *Indignity* to the *King*, short of his **Life**. And *All This* without any **Change** of *Government* too; for the *Monarchy* is the *Same* still, though the *Crown* perhaps may be *Translated* from *One Head* to *Another*. Thus we see, Every *Line's* a *Snare*: But I can never believe, that my Lord spake These *Words* with the Intention of him that Penn'd them, but rather that Unhappily he took the *Paper* by *Content*, and without much *Examining*, either the *Stamp*, or the *Mettle*, *pay'd it out* again as he *Receiv'd* it. In One word, *Somebody else Prepar'd* the *Poyson*, Put it into my *Lords hand* for a *Cordial*, and his Lordship Deliver'd it over to the *People*: Not but that upon the main of my Lords *Tryal*, *Sentence* and *Execution*, as the *Strictness* of the *Method* was *Absolutely Necessary*, so the *Process* was managed with all possible *Respect* and *Justice*.

We

We come now to the *Paper it Self*, which in several Places looks liker the *Character* of a *Primitive Christian* Expos'd to the *Lyons* in a *Roman Theatre*; or That of an *Unfortunate Heroe* in the Field, than the *Figure* of a Person under the *double Calamity* of such a *Cause* and such a *Sentence*.

[*I reckon This as the Happiest Time of my Life, tho Others may look upon it as the saddest.*]

Can any Man living that has *Flesh* and *Blood* about him, understand This *Hyperbole* according to the **Letter**, especially under the Circumstances of such *Mortal Mistakes* and *miserable Illusions*? What could a *Martyr* at the *Stake*, under a Guard of *Angels* have said *Greater* than *This*? And here's *The Arrow drawn to the Head* again.

[*The Importunity of my Friends, and particularly of the best and dearest* Wife *in the* World, *prevailed with me to* sign Petitions, *and make an* Address *for my Life*; *To which I was very* Averse; *For* (*I thank God*) *though in all Respects I have lived One of the Happiest, and Contentedst* Men *of the World*, (*for now very near Fourteen Years*) *yet I am so willing to leave all, that it was not without Difficulty that I did any Thing for the Saving of my Life*; *that was* **Begging**.]

How strangely has the *Author* of This Paragraph mistaken his *Proportions*! To *draw* the *Character* of a *Seraphical*, *Resigning Christian* from the *Copy* of a *Stomackful*, *huffing Cavalier*, and to talk of

the *Last Test* of a *Dying Mans Religion* and *Profession*, as if there were no more in't than a *vain Punctilio*, upon a point of *Honour* in a *Sword man*. Is it become a *Shame* for a *Delinquent* to Acknowledg his *Fault*? For a *Condemn'd Person* to Pray for a *stop* to the *Execution* of *Justice*? For a *Subject* that by his own *Confession* has done *amiss*, to *beg Pardon* of his *Soveraign*? How long has it been a point of either *Bravery*, or *Conscience*, for a man to be so **Averse** to the *Saving of his Life*, as to oppose the *only Proper* and *possible* (nay the *Lawful* and *Honourable*) *means* of *preserving it*? A *Petition* in *This* Case, is so far, methinks, from Needing, either a *Secondary Motive* to the *Inducing* of it, or an *Excuse* for the *doing* of it, That, without being wanting to *Himself*, his *Family*, and his *Friends*, I cannot see how he could have *Declin'd* it. My *Lords Signing* of the *Whole*, has made him become *Answerable* for every *Part*: But these *High Flights* were Undoubtedly the *Strokes* of **Another** Pen, that took more Care to *Advance* and *Support* the *Credit* of a *Faction* than to keep within the Bounds of *Sobriety* and *Decorum*, in respect of his Lordships *State* and *Condition*. There are several Dashes besides too, that seem to be *Influenc'd by the* **same Genius**; and *Written* and *Publish'd* with the same *Design*; and with no more Regard neither, to the *Case* of the *Person*, or to the *Pretence* of the *Paper*.

[*I wish with all my* Soul (says the Paper) *All our Unhappy Differences were Removed*; *and that All* sincere Protestants *would so far Consider the* Danger *of* Popery *as to lay aside their* Heats, *and* Agree *against the* Common Enemy; *and that the* **Church-men** *would be less* severe, *and the* Dissenters *less* scrupulous; *for I think* Bitterness *and* **Persecution** *are at all times* **Bad**, *but much more*, NOW.]

'Tis true; My Lords *Hand* makes *This Clause* my Lords *Act* again: But He that *Penn'd* it, thought of nothing less, upon the *Drawing of it up*, than my Lords *Business*: For what's a **publick Reformation** to a **private Confession**? Here's a Gentleman, *Agonizing in Extremis*, brought-in with an *Expedient* in his Mouth against *Popery*. What's **Toleration, Comprehension, Association,** (for that's his Proposal) to a Man that's now come to his *last Miserere*; and upon the *Critical* and *Final Discharge* of his *Soul* to *Almighty God*? Here's a *Christian* under the *Instant*, and the *Indispensable Obligation* of *Forgiving all Mankind*, brought in (with his *last Gasp* betwixt his *Teeth*) *Arraigning* both *Church* and *State*, with *Cruelty* and *Persecution*. And what's the *Severity* of the *Church-men* that He *Complains* of? And what's the *Persecution*; but the *Executing* of the *Laws* upon *Others*: And *living* in a *Dutiful Obedience* to them, *Themselves*? *Persecution* (he says) is **ever Bad**, *but much more* NOW.] What an *Emphatical*

phatical Note is it, that This *Critical* [NOW] should be pitched upon for the *Season* of *Indulging* the *Dissenters*; which *They* have chosen out for the *Season* of taking *Possession* of the *Government*? But the *Humour* is *Carried on*; and there's a great deal more of the same Stuff still.

[*For* Popery, *I look on it as an* Idolatrous *and* bloody Religion; *and therefore thought my self bound* **in my Station** *to do All I could against it*; *and by that*, *I foresaw I should Procure such Great Enemies to my self*; *and so* powerful Ones; *That I have been now for some time Expecting the worst*; *and* blessed be God, *I fall by the* **Axe**, *and not by the* **Fiery Tryal.**]

The *First* Period has in it, the very *Style*, as well as the *Doctrine* of the *Old Covenant*. There's the *Doctrine* of *Resistance* in't; with an *Allowance* (nay and an *Obligation*) for every man to be *Seditious* [**in his Station.**] The *Second Period* MEANS, That my Lord *Russel* fell under the *Revenge* of the Duke of *York* for *Promoting the Bill of Exclusion*. This Clause had my Lords *General Assent* as well as the *Rest*; but in *Conscience* and in *Charity*, I do firmly perswade my self, That it was *gain'd* by a *Surprize*; when the *Disorder* of His Lordships *Thoughts*, and the *shortness* of *Time*, perhaps would not bear much *Deliberation*; For whereas the *Death* of This *poor Gentleman* is *Invidiously* Charg'd

upon

upon the *Duke*, **for his Oppoſing Popery**; the *Duke Himſelf* was to have been *Murder'd* (nay and the *King* too) by the **Pretending** *Anti-Papal Party*; and it was my Lords heavy Lot to Fall under the *Fate* of That *Conſpiracy*. And the *Bare Murder* was not *All* neither; for Thoſe that call themſelves the **True Proteſtants**, were to have Done the *horrid Fact*: (And according to the *Vote*) *to have reveng'd it upon the* **Papiſts**. The *Pen-man* after This, makes the Unhappy Gentleman to *Bleſs God, That he fell by the* **Axe** *not the* **Faggot**; when yet at the ſame Time, ſo far was the *Faction* from *dreading* the *King*, the *Duke* and the *Government*, that *Thoſe very People* that made the Greateſt *Noiſe* with their **Fears**, **Jealouſies** and **Apprehenſions** were themſelves *United in a Conſpiracy to Blow up All*, **in one common Ruine**. Now for the matter of *Foreſight* and *Expectation* of Miſchief; it is no wonder for Men that run *deſperate Courſes* to live in the *Apprehenſion* of *Dangerous Effects*.

[*I did believe* (ſays the Paper) *and I* **Do ſtill**, *That* Popery is Breaking-in upon the Nation; *and that Thoſe who Advance it, will ſtop at nothing to carry on their* Deſigns. *I am heartily ſorry, that ſo many* **Proteſtants** *give their* **Helping-Hand** to it.]

Was there ever ſuch a *Reckoning* caſt up betwixt the *Great God* and a *miſerable Sinner*, and not *One Moment* left to ſet things *Right* in, betwixt *That*, and his

his Appearance at the *last Tribunal*? Here's not so much as *One Syllable* all this while, to my Lords *Case*, but only *Clamours* for fear of *Popery*; *Invectives* against the *Pretended Bringers of it in*; *Legal Protestants* turn'd over into the *Popish Calendar*; and all this while, the **Persecuted Persons** are the **Aggressors**. God forgive the Man, whoever it was (*if he has not sinn'd unto Death*) that wrought upon my Lord to Own this *Enflaming Paper*. And I cannot but hope, in Charity yet, that betwixt the *Delivery* of it and the *Stroke*, his Lordship *Repented* of the *Temerity*, and found a *Place* for *Mercy*.

But to spell a little upon *These Words* [*I* **Did** *Believe, and I* **Confess**, &c.] He does not say, upon what *Grounds*; He *Propounds* no *Remedy*; *Offers* no *Proof*: We hear nothing by whom it is to be *brought in*, or by *what means*: Put it seems, there are both *Papists* and *Protestants* in the *Confederacy*. Why does he not tell us who they *are*, of *Both Sorts*? Or if it be only a bare *Conjecture*, methinks the *King* and his *Council* should be able to see as far into This Business as the *Prevaricator*: Or let it be as it will, I challenge the World to shew any One *Colourable Reason* for the **Printing** of it, that's **Honest**: To give the Adviser his due, This Paper was never Calculated either for my Lords **Cause** or **Service**, any further than to make use

use of his *Name* as a *Vehicle*, to convey the *Spirits* of this *Venom* into all the Corners of his Majesties Dominions. But he goes forward.

[*I hope God will preserve the Protestant Religion, and this Nation: Though* I am afraid *it will fall under* very great Tryals, *and very* Sharp sufferings. *And indeed the* Impiety *and* Profaneness *that abounds and appears so scandalously Barefaced every where, gives too just Reason to fear the worst things which can befall a People. I pray God prevent it, and give those who have shewed concern for the* Publick good, *and who have appeared* Hearty *for the* True Interest *of the Nation, and the* Protestant Religion, *Grace to live so, that they may not cast a Reproach on that which they endeavour to Advance.*]

God deliver *me* from a *Confessour*, at my last Hour, that when I have but *one Moment* left to make my *Peace* with *God* in, shall put me upon employing that very *Instant* in casting *Fire-Balls* into a Nation, to set *Three Kingdoms in a Flame*: And instead of *shrifting* my *own Conscience*, to be *Raking* in the *Puddle* of the *Iniquities* of my *Neighbours*. What's the *End* of these *Terrifying Alarums*, but to *Gall* and *Teize* the *People*, without any hope of *Remedy*, unless by flying to that *Damned Principle* of *Conditional Obedience*, to *Embrue* my hands in the *Bloud* of my *Soveraign*? What's the *English* of this same [**Publick-Good**] here; Appearing [**Hearty**] The [**True Interest of the Nation**] and the [**Protestant Religion**?] What is it, but the *Old Cause* in a *New dress*; And the direct *Encouragement* of a *Schism*, and *Sedition*, against the *Authority* both of *Church* and *State*? And then here's still the *never-failing Topique* at hand, of **Impiety** and **Prophaneness** with a *Characteristical Note* of the other Party; As men *Concerned* for the **Publick-Good**, **Hearty** for the **True**

Interest, and the **Protestant Religion**; under which Notion, the *Shammer* of this *Paper* upon my *Lord*, did beyond all controversy, *Intend* the **Conspirators**: For it does not only Answer his *Ordinary Description* of them; but he would have told us in *Plain Terms*, if he had meant *otherwise*, or at least he would have cast in as much *Schism* and *Rebellion* into the *other Scale* as would have kept the *Ballance* **Even**. Not but that the *Sedition* and *Prophaneness* are now (God be thanked for it) come to be *both of a side*. And here again;

[*What ever Apprehensions I had of* Popery, *and of my own severe and heavy share I was like to have under it, when it should prevail; I never had a thought of doing any thing against it* Basely *or* Inhumanely; *but what could well Consist with the* Christian Religion, *and the* Laws *and* Liberties of this Kingdom: *And thank God, I have* Examined *all my Actings in that matter with so great Care, that I can appeal to* God Almighty, *who knows my Heart, that I went on* Syncerely, *without being moved either by* Passion, By-end, *or* Evil-Design.]

We are still upon the *same Train* of **Uncertainties** and **Generals**. Why should *My Lord* have these *Apprehensions*, by reason of *His opposing Popery*? When the **King**, the **Church**, and the **Laws of the Land** are against Introducing the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, as much as *His* **Lordship**: But if the **Paper** *means* **One** *Popery*, and the **Law Another**; (As 'tis clear by the *Context* of it, that the *Church-Protestants* and the *Papists* are to be blown up into the Air *Together*) the *Pretext* of *Religion* is *Degenerated* into a *Point-blank Sedition*: And every man that Suffers for *Treason*, shall presently at this rate be made a *Martyr* for the *Reformation*. And again, will the *Composer* of this Paper have my Lords *Suffering* in this Case, to be an Argu-

ment

ment that **Popery prevails**; because his Lordship *foresaw the Hard Measure he was likely to have, in Case it should prevail?* Neither will the *Lawfulness* of *opposing Popery*, in any sort, *Excuse* the *Doing* of it by *Unlawful means*. There must be no *Seizing of Guards* in the Case; The *Fear* of a *False Religion* is no *Defence*, either before *God* or *Man*, for the *Violence* of an *Actual Rebellion*. How much *more Forcible* then is the *Condition* of **Our present Instance**; where the *very men* that pretend to *Fear Popery*, are so far from *Fearing it* **Indeed**, that it is *one Branch* of the *Conspiracy* to **say** they *Fear* it: A *Second*, to give it out, that the **Papists** are about to *Kill the King*; And at the same time, to *Resolve* to do it **Themselves**: And the last Round of the Ladder, is, by *Consent*, so soon as ever they have *Executed* the *Villany*, to make *Proclamation* that the **Papists** did it. But now we come to the *Deplorable Nicety* of my *Poor Lords Case*; which, in *Appearance*, seems to be well nigh the *Single Proposition*, wherein the *Confessour* and the *Penitent* agreed; And this was it, which cost both *Himself* and that *Noble Family* so *Dear*.

Popery was to be *Opposed* it seems, but not **Basely** or **Inhumanely**; The *Guards* were not to be *Massacred* or *Killed* in their *Beds*; But if the same thing in Effect might have been done Bravely, and Sword in Hand, I see nothing in this Paragraph to the contrary, but that in substance it might have been Justifyed; for BASELY and INHUMANLY are the Two only Exceptions that I find to the doing of it: And they do *Tacitly Imply* a kind of **Approbation** of the *Thing*, Provided it might have been done in a way of *Reputative Generosity* and *Honour*; for here's no *Regard* either **Had** or so much as **Intimated** in *That Particular*, to the *Laws* either of *God* or of *Man*.

There follows indeed a kind of *Restriction* (by way of a *Salvo*) That the *Proceeding* ought to hold a [**Consistence with the** Christian Religion, **and the** Laws, **and** Liberties **of this** Kingdom.] And where are we *then?* If *Julian* the *First* and the *Second*; If *Apostates*, and the *Common Bretrayers* of *Kings*, *Masters* and *People*, shall be made the *Judges* of *That Christian Religion*: Or *Hunt* and *Ferguson*, the *Arbitrators* of our *Common Rights?* Oh how I curse the First Minute that ever gave Admittance to any of these *Mutinous* and *Sanguinary Levites*, any of these *Popular* or *Seditious Boutefeus*, under the *Roof* of that *Honourable House! Hinc illæ Lachrimæ!* for *That mistaken Principle* was the *Root* of all this *Evil*; And the *Main Incentive*, (I perswade my self) to the doing of *Many ill things* by the *Impulse* of *That Delusion:* Had not a Man better have a *Cloven Foot* in's House, then one of these *Cloven Tongues?* The *Devil*, *Barefac'd*, puts a Man to his *Prayers*; He *Summons* up his *Resolutions*, and *Implores* a *Powerful* and a *Merciful God* for his *Assistance*, with a *Horrour* all this while, for the *Character* and the *Company* of his *Seducer*: But in the *Other* Case, a Man *Abandons* himself to the *Impostor*; *Consults no other Oracle*, but takes his *Enemy* into his *Arms*, and *Opens* his *Heart* for the *Spirit of Errour* to *Enter* in, and take *Possession* of him, *Pins* his *Faith* upon the *Sleeve* of his *Guide*, and *Swallows* the *Ruine* both of *Body*, *Soul* and *Estate*, with *Greediness*. He takes the *Broad Way* for the *Narrow*, &c. God Deliver all *Honest Men* out of the *Clutches* of *these Parasitical* and *Rapacious Hypocrites*! The *Dictator* of this Paper says, that [*My Lord Examined all his Actings*:] And truly so much the *Worse*, if they were *Examined* by Applying them to *False Rules* and *Measures*: And then he Vouches for the **Syncerity** of my Lords Heart,

Heart, which *Syncerity* avails little too, if it be founded upon a *wrong Principle*: And no *Purgation* at all neither of his *Innocency*, in case of an *Erroneous Judgement*.

Now to *Close* this *Remarque*; the whole *Paragraph* is *Mystery*; and there may be Wrapt under it, what *Meaning* soever the *Reader* shall find Reasonable to *Impose* upon it: for a thing may be *Contrary* to the *Laws* both of *Heaven* and *Earth*; and yet in *His Sense* neither **Base** nor **Injurious**. *Fulgin* and *Hunt*, make that which the *Law* calls *Rebellion*, to be *Consistent with our Laws*, *Liberties* and *Religion*: And then for the [**examining** *of his Actings*] My Lords *Monitor* knows that *Ravillac* did as much; and in his own *Private Thoughts*, *Approved* them too. *Our Regicides* here at *Home*, did the same thing, and yet their *Actions* never the *Better*, or the more *Warrantable* for having stood *That Tryal*. We'l come now to his *Reflexions upon* the *Bill* of *Exclusion*.

[*I cannot but give some Touch about the* Bill of Exclusion, *and shew the Reasons of my appearing in that business, which in short is this: That I thought the Nation was in such danger of* Popery, *and that the* Expectation *of a* Popish Successor (*as I have said in Parliament*) *put the* Kings Life *likewise in such danger, That I saw no way so effectual to secure Both, as such a* Bill. *As to the* Limitations, *which were proposed, if they were* **Syncerely** offered, *and had passed into a* Law; *the* Duke *then would have been* Excluded *from the* Power *of a* King, *and the* Government *quite* altered, *and little more than the* Name *of a* King *left. So I could not see either Sin or Fault in the One, when all people were willing to admit of t'other; but thought it better to have a* King *with his* Prerogative, *and the* Nation *easie and safe under him, than a* King without *it, which must have bred* Perpetual Jealousies *and a* Continual Struggle.

All

All this I say, only to justifie my self, and [not to enflame Others,] *though I cannot but think*, my **Earnestness** in That **Matter** has had no small Influence in my **present Sufferings**.]

With Honour to my *Lords Reasons* for the *Bill*; the *Best* and the *Truest Reason* that ever I met with for't, was This; That the *Exclusion* of the *Duke* would certainly draw the *Crown* after it; and that the *Suppressing* of **Monarchy** and **Episcopacy** was the *Best Expedient*, that ever was heard of, for the *Preventing* of **Tyranny** and **Popery**; so that the *Disease* was expressly *invented* for the *sake* of the *Remedy*: In the **Parliament-Case**, the **Kings** Life, it seems, was in *danger* for the **Successors** sake: And in the **Plot-Case**, the **Successors** Life was in *danger*, for the **Kings** *sake*: There were *Limitations* offer'd (he says) but whether SYNCERELY *offer'd* or **not**, he makes a *Question*: (for which his Majesty owes him a Thousand Thanks) but whether the *One* or the *Other*, they were however very heartily *Rejected*; and he gives This *Reason* for't. They would have left the *Duke* only the **Name** of a *King*, without the **Power**; But *my Lords Prompter* was Resolv'd, that the *Duke* should either have **All** or **None**, and that the *Heir* should be **quite struck off** rather than the **Crown Maim'd**. Now upon *This Consideration*; (and for the *saving* of the *Prerogative*, and for the *Ease* of the *People*,) The *Paper-Writer* Absolves my Lord from either *Sin* or *Fault*, in the bus'ness of the *Bill*; forgetting upon *set Purpose* on his Lordships behalf, That my Lord had *Promoted* the *Bill* before ever these *Limitations* were thought of. Touching the *Influence* that my Lords *Earnestness in That matter* might have upon his *After-Sufferings*; I shall easily Agree with the *Supposer* of it, That there might be something in't; for the

Project

Project of *Secluding* the *Duke*, was a *Limb* of that *Design*, which afterwards grew up into a *Form'd Conspiracy*, and Unhappily brought This mistaken Lord to his *End*. But to impute any *part* of my Lords *Sufferings* to the *Malice* of a *vindictive Spirit*, for what he either said, or did, in *Parliament*, would lye open to so many *Disproofs* and *Contradictions*, that there is not place for any man in *sound Sense* so much as to *imagine* it. My Lord most Unfortunately fell into a *Cabal* of *Male-Contents*; frequented their *Meetings*; joyn'd with'em in their *Councils*. There was a *Conspiracy* Carry'd on, which, by the Mercy of God was seasonably *Detected*: My Lord, with others, *Apprehended* upon it; brought to a Fair *Tryal*, the Matter Legally *Prov'd*: And his *Lordship Himself*, not able to Deny the *Substance* of the *Charge*. Upon This, he was found *Guilty*, *Sentenced* and put to *Death*. And what's *All This* to any *Court-Influence of Revenge*, for his Lordships *Earnestness* about the *Bill*? But we have taken up an opinion in these late Times, as if the putting of an *Indignity* upon *The Heir of the Crown* were enough to make a Man *Shot-free*, and HARD, as they say, And that the 25 *Edw.* 3. could never *Touch* him after.

But as I was saying just now, The *Faction* had *Two Capital Designs* in Contemplation; the *One* was the Destroying of the *Duke* and the *King*: And the *Other* was the Destroying of the *King* and the *Duke*. The *Former* was to have been *Executed* by **Bill**; and the *Other* by **Gun-shot**. The *Passing* of the *Bill* had absolutely done the *Work*; but in a way of **Form**, and by **Votes** and **Ordinances**, which we have found to be every jot as *Sure*, as **Protestant Flayles** or **Blunderbusses**. For *One Disinheriſon* opens a *Gap* to *Another*. And when they have once got the *Trick* of *Putting by* a *Successor*, whom they do not **like**; 'tis Fifty to One, the *Humour* will take

take them of *liking* **no Succeſſor at all**; and ſo by *Degrees*, there will follow a *Tranſition* from a *Diſlike* of the **Perſon** to a *Diſlike* of the **Government**: And the **Monarchy it ſelf** will be found as Great a *Grievance*, as the **next Heir**. When they are once enter'd upon this *Train* of *Reformation*, there will be care taken that we ſhall never want *more work for the Tinker*; till the *New State-Menders* may come to have the *ſtopping* of *Thoſe Holes* that they *made* **themſelves**: All *Counſellors* ſhall be **Popiſh**, all *Miniſters* and *Officers*, the *Guards*, the *Militia*, and *All Perſons whatſoever* in any Station of *Truſt* and *Power*, they ſhall be *Papiſts* or *Popiſhly-affected*, **every Man of 'em**; ſaving ſuch only as ſhall ſtand the *Teſt* of a *Secret Committee*. Now by this time we are within *One Remove* of a *True Proteſtant Commonwealth*: There is *One Queſtion* that I have put at leaſt half a dozen times already, without Receiving ſo much as the leaſt Pretence to an *Anſwer*: And I ſhall offer it once again to the Conſideration of the **Exclusion-Men**, Let any Man ſhew me *One Argument*, that ſtrikes upon the *Succeſſion* of the *Duke*, which does not *equally Operate* upon the *King* in *Poſſeſſion* too. For the *ſame Popery* that *unqualifies* the *Lawful Succeſſor* for the **Inheritance** of *Sovereign Power*, does as well *Unqualify* the *preſent Occupant* for the **Exercise** of it: As it is an *Equal Sin*, in the ſight of God, the *Deſtroying* of a *Child* in the *Womb*, or the *Squeezing of the Brains out* when it comes into the *World*.

Conſider now again, that as the *King* was to be wounded through the **Duke**, ſo long as matters were to be Carryed on with a Countenance of *Authority*, *Law* and *Conſcience*; ſo the *Duke* was to be NOW wounded through the *King*, when they found themſelves driven upon a *Forc'd Put*, and to the making of an *Attempt* by *Violence*:

Violence: but still They were **Both** to be *Destroyed*, **Both ways**; only, *vice versa*; the *Duke* to go *first* in a **Parliamentary-way**: And (as *Hone* said) the *King* to go *first* in an *Assassinating way* But what's All this still to the Case of a **Dying Man**? I shall proceed now.

[*From the time of Chusing Sheriffs, I Concluded the Heat in That Matter would produce somthing of This kind; and I am not much surprized to find it fall upon* **Me**; *and I wish what is done to Me, may put a* Stop, *and* satiate some Peoples Revenge; *and that no more* **innocent** Blood *be shed; for I must, and do still look upon* MINE *as* SUCH; *since* **I know I was guilty of no Treason**; *and therefore I would not Betray my* Innocence *by* Flight, &c.]

It was *well judg'd*, that the *City-Ryots* would probably [*produce somthing of this kind*] that is to say, *Conspiracies* and *Resolutions* of *Tumult* and *Rebellion*: And the *Evil Genius at my Lords Elbow*, does well enough *Observe* that there was no great matter of *Surprize* in't; for my Lord that was *Embarqu'd* in the *same Vessel*, to take his Part in the *same Storm*. But how comes *Legal Justice* to be call'd [**some Peoples Revenge**?] Or why may not *All Criminals* whatsoever, that fall under the dint of the *Law*, Arraign the *Justice* of the *Nation*, upon the *same Terms*? It does no more hold, on the *One* side, that the **City-heats** should make my Lord **guilty**, than on the *Other*, that they should make him **innocent**; neither do *Those Distempers*, in any sort, fall within the Prospect of *This Question*: Beside, That *this way of Reasoning* inverts the very *Nature*, and *Tendency* of them: For they are here represented as a *subservient Medium* toward the Advancing of a *Popish Interest*, when the *Contrary* is as clear as *Day*: And that it was a *Republican* and a *Phanatical Spirit* that stir'd up, and Animated All those *Broils*; and that they did it upon such

Grounds and *Principles* too, as ſhook the very *Monarchy it ſelf*. But if my Lord drew any *Ill Bodings* to *himſelf* from *Thoſe Diſorders*, it was by a *Prophetical Foreſight* of the *Fatal Miſcarriages* of the *Sedition* that was then a *Brewing*: and of his own *Unhappy ſhare* in the *Miſadventure*. We have ſpoken already to the point of *Revenge*, and we ſhall ſpeak further to his *Lordſhips Innocence* in the due Place; as to his [*Averſeneſs to the betraying of his Innocence by Flight*,] either the *Inference* is not *Good*; or elſe, *All Thoſe* that are *Fled* are *Guilty*. The Paper ſays, that he was [*Guilty of no Treaſon*,] but the *Judges* were of *One* Opinion, and my Lords *Councel* of *Another*.

[*I know* (ſays the Author of the Paper) *I ſaid but little at the Tryal, and I ſuppoſe it looks more like* Innocence *than* Guilt.]

Can it be imagin'd, that my Lord did not *Defend himſelf* as well as he *could*? And it is the Firſt *Time* perhaps, that ever *ſaying little* to an *Accuſation*, was made an *Argument* of a *Man's Innocence*: But of this hereafter, and ſo I ſhall go forward.

[*I pray God* (ſays the Paper) *lay not this* [my Condemnation] *to the Charge, neither of the Kings Counſel, nor Judges, nor Sheriffs, nor Jury; and for the Witneſſes, I pity them, and wiſh them well; I ſhall not reckon up the Particulars, wherein they did me wrong, I had rather their own Conſciences ſhould do that; to which, and the Mercies of God I leave them.*]

Here's a moſt *ſcandalous Defamation* thrown out againſt the *Kings Counc l*, the *Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Jury* and *Witneſſes*, all at a *Caſt*; though the *Manage* was ſo *Fair* in *All Reſpects*, that the *Juſtice* and *Patience* of the *Court* was Acknowledged by the very *Zelotes* of the *Party* themſelves: They could not but *Confeſs*, that the *Tryals*

als were *Candid* and *Clear*; they were heard at *large*; the *Proofs indubitable*, and *ſeconded* by their *Own Confeſſions*. But I muſt Obſerve again, that this Paper makes them *Guilty*, only by a *Figure*, and **prays** for them without **charging** them. It *Prays* for the *Witneſſes*, [*wherein they did my Lord wrong*;] but why does it not reckon up the *Particulars*: Nor is it ſaid, that *they* **did** him *any Wrong at all*. The *Penman* will not charge my *Lords Conſcience* with *Averring* any thing that is *Falſe*; but he has *Colour'd* it ſo, as to make the *People* Believe he had *wrong done* him, and that will do as well. He leaves the *Particulars*, however, [to their *own Conſciences and Gods Mercys*:] ſo that, in ſhort, This Paper is only a *Scotch Miſt* from one End to the Other. There's a *bold Inſinuation* of *Injuſtice*; but not One *Syllable* in *Proof*, or ſo much as to *Colour* it.

But we'le put the Caſe now that my Lord had *really ſuffer'd* All the *Wrong* he *Complains* of. 'Tis true, it was the Part of a *Generous Chriſtian* to cloſe his Eyes with St. *Stephens Prayer*; but then the **printing** of That *Prayer* ſtands in a *Direct Oppoſition* to the ſeeming *Piety* and *Reſignation* of it; for it lays *Innocent Blood* to the *Charge* of the *Government*: And *Expoſes* the *Adminiſtrators* of it to the uttermoſt *Rage* and *Fury* of the *Multitude*, as the moſt *Abominable Monſters* upon the Face of the *Earth*; and All this, without the leaſt *Thought*, *Hope*, or *Poſſibility* of any *Other Benefit* by it, than the *Tearing* of All to *pieces*, and the making of *This Paper* to do the *work* of the *Conſpiracy*. Can any body think that his Lordſhip would not have laid his *finger* upon the **wrong**, if he had *ſuffer'd* any? Or that if he could (as he ſays) have *reckon'd up* any *Particulars*, that he would not have done it? He ſays in another Place,

[*I do freely forgive All the World, particularly thoſe*

concern'd in taking away my Life; and I desire and Conjure my Friends to think of no Revenge.]

These Words are only the *same* **Prayer** with the *Former*, **turn'd into Sin** (as the *Prophet David* says) but manag'd *Another way*: And the *short English* of this *Ejaculation* is *a Prayer to Almighty God to forgive his* **Murderers**; with an intent to cast the *Guilt* of shedding *Innocent Blood* now a *Second Time* upon the *Ministers of Justice*? And what does the *Artificial Hypocrite* that *Penn'd* this *Paper*, but in the very *Act* of *Conjuring my Lords Friends to think of no Revenge*, Do all that is possible by This Printed Appeal, to draw on a publick Vengeance from the Irritated and Seditious Rabble And once again now.

[*I never pretended to a Great Readiness in Speaking, I wish those Gentlemen of the Law, who have it, would make more* Conscience *in the use of it, and not run Men down by Strains and* Fetches, *Impose on Easie and willing Furies to the Ruine of* Innocent Men, *for to kill by Forms and Subtleties of Law is the worst Sort of* Murder: *But I wish the Rage of hot Men and the* Partiality *of Furies* may be stopped *with my* Blood, *which I would offer up with so much the more* JOY, *if I thought I should be the last were to suffer in such a way.*]

This is only a **Strain** and a **Fetch** (as the Paper says) for the running the same *Scandal* over again, with a little Varying the *Phrase*. Who are those *Unconscionable Gentlemen of the Law? Whom* do they run *down*? What are the **Strains** and **Fetches**? Or where are the *Easie* and *willing Furies*? The *Ruin'd Innocents*? Or the **Murders** according to *Art*? The *Outrageous Men*, and the *Partial Furies*? The *People* are to understand this to be my *Lords Case*, though the *Author himself* has not the Face to *make* it so, either on the *One* side, or on the *Other*;

and

and then he has wrought the *Character* too *High*, in the Expression of my Lords *Offering up his Blood* [**with the more Joy**] instead of **the less Trouble** or *Affliction*; and *Concludes* with the laying of *Innocent Blood* again to the Charge of the *Government*. Upon the whole matter, this is only more and more *Calumny*, and *Iniquity* added to *Iniquity*. Whoever suggested *this Dictate* to his Lordship, might have minded him of those very *Gownmen* and *Furies*, that he speaks of, within the Memory of Man: and of a *Time*, when People were Destroy'd, not only by *Forms* and *Subtleties* of *Law*, but by *meer Noise* and *Tumult*: and to the End, that nothing may be wanting to the filling up the *Measure of the Scandal*; the *King Himself* comes in for his share too, when he prays [*that He may be* [INDEED] *the Defender of the Faith*] implying That he is only so as yet in *Show* and *Title*. It may be another Question now, in what Creed we are to look for *That Faith*, which the Contriver of this Paper would have his Majesty to *Defend*: Or in what Part of Dr. *Burnet*'s *History of the Reformation*, a body may be sure to find it.

I have Liv'd (he says) *and now Dye of the* Reformed Reigion; *A true and sincere* Protestant, *and in the Communion of the* Church of England, *though* I *could never yet comply with, or rise up to all the Heights of many People.*]

That is to say, I am not of the Church of *Rome* in *General*, not a *Papist*, but a *Protestant*, and a *Church of England Protestant* too; Bating, the [**Established by Law**] *College Himself* went thus far, and yet no body knew what to make of him at last. We have a hundred and fifty several sorts of *English Protestants*, and consequently in *his Sense*, so many *Communions* of the Church of *England*: For *All the several Sects* have their *several Churches*, and

and when they are put to the *Touch*, Every Sect *Denominates* it self of the *Church of England*: So that instead of the *Simplicity* of a *Declaration* and *Confession*, we have not hitherto so much as One Line, that is not wrapt up in *Equivocation* and *Mistery*: but the Only way of Expounding his *Intent* in *this Particular* must be by a *Collation* of *Parts*; and *Comparing* (as we do *Scripture Difficulties*) *One Text* with *Another*. He Complains in One Place, of *Bitterness* and *Persecution*, and Charges the *Church-men* with *Severity*. He Reflects in *Another Place* upon [*many Protestants that give a Helping Hand to Popery*,] Now it cannot be Imagin'd, that the *Sham-Confessor* (whoever he be) reckons my Lord, either among the *Persecuting*, or among the *Popishly affected-Protestants*; So that there's no *Church of England* Communion left him, but that of the *Dissenters*. And what does he mean again, now, by the [**Heights** *of many People?*] The *Standard* of a *Legal Conformity* is neither *Higher* nor *Lower*, than the *Established Rule* and *Measure*: So that upon the *Unriddling* of *this Clause*, the wondrous Difficulty terminates in a very *plain Resolution: i.e.* That the **Protestant** hereby *intended*, is a **Dissenting Member** *of the* **Non Conforming Communion** *of the Church of* England. Thus far we have had Nothing but *Doubling* and *Shifting*: But after a Diligent and a Careful Search for *One Clear* and *Plain Dealing-Period* or Two, that might in some Degree *Atone* for the *Oraculous Elusions* of the *Rest*, this is the Only *Point-blank-Assertion* that I find in the whole Paper.

[*I shall Averr, that what I said of my not hearing Collonel* Rumsey *deliver any Message from my Lord* Shaftsbury, *was* TRUE, *for* I always Detested Lying, *though never so much to my Advantage*; *And* I *hope none will be so Unjust as to think* I *would adventure on it, in* These my last

last Words, *for which I am so soon to give an Account to the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts and Judge of all Things.*]

I take this to be the most *Remarkable Passage* in the Paper, being the *Only Point* that my Lord delivers upon his *Death*, to be a **Truth**, without power of *Revocation*; And it is done too, with a *Solemnity* as *Dreadful* as the Contemplation of *Divine Justice*, and a *Judgment to come*, can make it. All the *Rest* is *Loose* and *Dubious*, and may be taken *One* way as well as *Another*: But in this, the *Asseveration* is *Positive* and *Precise*, *i. e.* that [*What my Lord said of his not hearing Collonel* Rumsey **Deliver** *any Message from my Lord* Shaftsbury, *was* **True**] We'le take it for granted now, that my Lord did **Not** hear the *Delivery* of *That* Message: That is to say, a *Message* from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, [*That it was High Time to come to some Resolution about the* **Rising**] It does not therefore follow, that because My Lord *did* **Not** *hear the* **Delivery** of *the Message*, he knew nothing therefore of the **Contents** of it? His Lordship *heard* the *Subject Matter* of the *Message Debated*; And he *Heard* the *Answer* that was *Resolved* upon in *Return* to that *Message*: Which was in Effect, [That *Mr. Trenchard was not Ready, and therefore they could not as yet go on.*] Nay, My *Lord* did not deny the *Hearing* of the *Answer*, but put the *Question* himself at his *Tryal*, [*Whether or no he Consented to that Answer*:] And *Collonel Rumsey* delivered upon his *Oath*, that he did both *Advise* about it, *Treat* and *Consent*; So that it is not the value of a *Single-Hair*, (if there were *Twenty Thousand Lives at Stake upon it*) whether my Lord **Heard** that *Message* **Delivered** *or* **Not**. What's the *Meaning* then of laying the *Stress* of his **Salvation** upon't? He *Purges* himself of *no Part* of his *Charge*

by't

by't, but rather by the *Frankneſs* of his *Proteſtation* in a matter of *Little* or *No Importance*, and without leaving himſelf any *Room* for an *Evaſion*, he draws a *Suſpicion* upon the *Candor* and *Clearneſs* of all the *reſt*, for it *looks Odly* to ſee a man ſo *Wonderfully ſolemn*, and *Particular* in *one ſingle Caſe*, where 'tis not a farthing matter whether it be *Croſs* or *Pile*: And yet at the *ſame time* ſo *Dark* and *Doubtful* in *twenty other Inſtances*, where all that can be dear to a Man of *Integrity* and *Honour*, is concerned. But the *Paper it ſelf* gives the *Reaſon* of this *Different* way of *Proceeding*, in ſaying that my Lord [*always deteſted Lying*:] Upon which conſideration it has *Diſtinguiſhed* betwixt things *True* and *Falſe*, by the *Peremptory Strictneſs* of the *One*, and the *Ambiguities* and *Reſervations* of the *Other*, which is the *only Key* that *Opens the Meaning* of *this Paper*. And there's another thing to be obſerved, which is, that *This very* **Truth** was deſigned as a means to lead the Reader into a *Miſtake*, as if *My Lords not hearing the Delivery of the Meſſage*, were ſufficient in Conſequence, to Diſcharge him of the *Guilt* and *Danger* of the *Conſultation*. My Lords *Adviſer* has ſhewed himſelf a great *Maſter* in the *Doctrine* of *Probabilities*, This Paper quite throughout. There's but *One plain Truth* in't, and yet as the matter is ordered, there is hardly *One Falſity* neither, but it runs altogether in *Appearance* and *Diſguiſe*, like one of your *Turning Pictures* that ſhews you a **Beaſt** on the *One* Hand, and a **Man** on the *Other*. It was *Generally Noted*, that my Lord had very little to oppoſe in his own Defence at his *Tryal*; and his *Black Angel* has found out a *Shift* for *That* too.

[*I was Adviſed not to Confeſs Matter of Fact* **plainly**; *ſince that muſt certainly have brought me within the Guilt of* **Miſpriſion**; *and being thus Reſtrained from dealing Frank-*

Franckly *and* Openly, *I chose rather to say Little, then to depart from That Ingenuity, that, by the Grace of God, I had carry'd along with me in the former Parts of my Life: And so could Easier be silent, and leave the whole matter to the Conscience of the Jury, then to make the Last, and Solemnest Part of my Life so different from the Course of it, as the using* Little Tricks, *and* Evasions *must have been.*]

I cannot bring the several Parts of this Clause to a *Consistence One* with *Another.* My Lord was Advis'd against *Confessing* PLAINLY, FRANCKLY, OPENLY. He *Follow'd* That *Advice*; And in so doing, *Minc'd the Matter*, and *Confess'd* NOT PLAINLY Nor FRANCKLY, Nor OPENLY. That is to say; he *Confess'd* Mysteriously, and kept himself upon his *Guard*: which, how *Prudent* soever, was yet a *Departure* from the *Scrupulous Dignity* of his Lordships Figure, in This *Paragraph*; and falls within the Compass of the Little Tricks *and* Evasions which I find in the very *same Period, Condemn'd.* But where's the *Hurt* now, of a Man's Employing All the *Honest Arts*, and *Methods*, for the Defence of his *Life* that the Cause will bear? As desiring to know the *Pannel*, for the purpose; *Time* to *Consider* of it; *Liberty* of *Challenges*, and the like. But to Descend now from This *Elevated Resolution* to the very matter of *Fact*; I dare appeal to the most *Partial*, or rather to the most *Favourable* Friend my Lord had in the world, whether he thinks that *his Lordship Abated* any thing of the *Defence* that he *could* or *would* otherwise have made, upon the reason here Alledg'd; of keeping up the *Congruity of his Character*, to the end that in his *Life* and in his *Death*, he might be *all of a piece.* I must take notice again, that it is a very Extraordinary way, for a *Prisoner* at the Barr to be *silent*, where he has any

thing to say for *himself*; And so to leave the whole matter to the *Conscience* of a *Jury*, when in *Conscience* they must Necessarily find *him Guilty*, if the proofs *Reach him*; and that he has nothing to say, to the *Contrary*. And then there's Another foul *Blot* too, in saying, that the [*Confession of the Fact*, PLAINLY,] must [CERTAINLY *have brought my Lord within the Guilt of Misprision.*] That same [CERTAINLY] has shew'd the World the very Bottom of the Business; for what becomes of [*The Words of a Dying Man*] then, *that my Lord knows of No Plot, either against the Kings Life, or the Government*] when here's a *Plain Confession* of the *Knowledge* of a *Conspiracy*, and the *Concealment* of it? There can be no *Dispute* upon this *Contradiction*, but the *Denial* must of Necessity be either *False*, or *Double*. The *One* Pinches upon a Point of **Honour**; The *Other* looks only like a **Trial of Skill**: And so we shall content our selves to cast it into the Heap of his *other Amphibologies*. (I make use of a *Hard Word* for a *very Ill Thing*, because I would not have the *Common People* understand the *meaning* of it.) And it is upon *This Condition*, too, that the Reader shall be at liberty to take all his *Other Reservations* by the same *Handle*; for upon the *Solution* of *This Difficulty*, depends the very *Issue* of the *Question*. There Remains One Slip more yet, wherein the Author seems to have Overshot himself. There's a Reproach fastened upon his *Lordships Counsel*, as if **They** had Train'd him into a *Snare*, by **Misadvising** him. 'Tis True, that the *Paper* does not say *expressly*, whether they were *Profess'd* Gownmen, or *Particular Friends* that gave the *Advice*: But yet for the *Reputation* of his *Lordships Prudence*, it must be understood of **Lawyers**; as the *Only Competent Directors* that my Lord could make use of, in such an *Extremity*. Who can Imagine, now, that any *Lawyer*, (though

(though never so little *Skill'd* in his *Profession*) could *Advise* my Lord upon *Fair Instructions*, and a *Manifest Certainty* of what would be *Sworn* against him, to *Smother*, or to *Extenuate* the matter of *Fact*; least (as the Paper Insinuates) it should be found *Misprision* of *Treason*? when *Effectually*, *This Lawyer* could have told my Lord his *Doom* **beforehand**: And that it would undoubtedly have been found, not only *Misprision*, but *Treason it self*: In which Condition; my Lords Councel, would rather have advis'd him to have thrown himself upon the *Kings mercy*. And there is more then a *Tacit* **Acknowledgment** of my Lords *Guilt*, In several other Parts of this Paper: But I'le take *This following passage* in my way to the rest.

[*As I never had any Design against the* Kings Life, *or the Life of any Man whatsoever*; *so I never was in any Contrivance of* Altering the Government: *What the Heats, Wickedness, Passions, and Vanities of Other Men have Occasioned, I ought not to be Answerable for*; *nor could I Repress them, though I now Suffer for them*: *But the Will of the Lord be done, into whose Hands I commend my Spirit, and trust that Thou, O most merciful Father, hast forgiven me all my Transgressions*; *the Sins of my Youth, and all the Errors of my past Life*; *and that Thou wilt not lay my secret Sins and Ignorances to my Charge*, &c.]

I shall here Recommend one Special Note to the Reader: Which is, That in *Five Several Places* (i. e. *Twice* in the *Speech*, and *Thrice afterwards*) this Paper Restrains my Lords Endeavour to discharge himself from the *Dint* of the *Indictment*, to the expres *Hints*, of the **Kings Life**, and **Altering** or **Changing** the *Government*. As for *Example*: [*God knows how far I was always from Designs upon the* **Kings Person**, *or* **Altering the Government**: *In the Words of a Dying Man, I profess I know of no* **Plot**, *either against the* **Kings Life**, *or*

the **Government.**] And then afterwards, [*I never had any Design of* **Changing the Government**, *&c.*] *I would have suffer'd any thing rather then have consented to any Design to take away the* **Kings Life.**] And so again in the Clause *last above-mention'd.* The Hammering of This Point over and over, so often, was, Undoubtedly, to strike the *Deeper Impression*, and to create, in the *short-sighted Multitude*, a *Stronger Perswasion* of my Lords *Innocence.* But why in the **Same Words** still? And with so *Cautious*, and *Particular* a *Limitation*, to *Those Two Articles*; if it were not to *Accommodate* That *Popular Cover* to some *Hidden Meaning?* But the Fallacy that's Couch'd under [*The* **Kings Life**] and [**Altering the Government**] is expos'd already. It is said here, That my Lord had no Design against the *Life* of *any man whatsoever*: 'Tis hard to imagine a *War*, and no body to be *Kill'd* in't: But there's a *Salvo* for *That* too; That the *Individual Person* was not *thought* of. Neither do I believe that my Lord ever *Design'd* to take away the Life of Dr. *Hawkins*, though he said in his *Passion*, that *he hop'd to live to see him Flead and Hung up.*] That which follows next, speaks my Lord *Privy* to a Great many *Ill Things*; And it is not enough to say, that *he could not Repress them*; For they were of such a Quality, that his Lordship was Bound, both by *Oath*, and *Duty* to *Discover them*; Or at the least, In Honour, and in *Conscience*, to have avoided a *Conversation* that carried on such *Dangerous Designs.*

And now to speak one word to that which passes for his Lordships *last Prayer.* We have his own *Acknowledgment* of a *Misprision of Treason*, And yet not one syllable upon *that Subject*, in his *Parting Confession.* But he that wrote this Paper is a *Profess'd Enemy* I perceive, to the *Christianity* of a *Clear* Confession.

I hope nobody (says the Paper) *will imagine, that so* mean *a Thought could enter into* me, *as to go about to* save my self by accusing others *The Part that some have Acted lately of that kind, has not been such as to invite me to love Life at such a Rate.*]

A Man shall not need to Guess twice, who was the Author of this Sentence; for 'tis written with the very Spirit of a *Carguelite* that makes *Treason*, a *Virtue*, and *Repentance* a *Mortal Sin*: And my *Poor Lord*, in the *Anguish* of his *Thought*, is left here to Answer for the *Lewdness* of *Another man*, who, (Notwithstanding the *Justness* of my Lords *Sentence*,) is *Incomparably the Greater Criminal.* If he ever *was*, or *Pretended* to be a *Minister* of the *Gospel*, (For there are *Julians in* **Black-Coats**, and *more Julians* then *One* too) what could be more *Luciferian*; then to turn *Penitence* into a *Scandal*; And to *Preach* it for a Point of *Religious Honour*, in a *Christian*, not to *Discover* his *Complices* in a *Rebellion*? Surely the Author of this Paper was afraid of being Discovered himself; And therefore *Inculcates* the *Principle*, and *Recommends* it. Is it such an *Indignity*, for a man to [**Save himself by Accusing Others**?] What is it then for a man rather to *Damn* his *Soul* by the *Perjurious Concealment* of a *Traytor*; then by *Discharging* his *Duty*, both to *God* and to his *Prince*, to lay down *This Life* in hope of a *Better*, through the *Merits* and *Intercession* of a most *Mercyful Saviour*? The *Pen-man's* [**Saving of Himself**, by **Accusing Others**,] is only the *False Gloss* of a *Reprobated Seducer* upon the *Text*. And then the *Instance* of his *Reproach* upon the *Kings Witnesses*, in this Matter, is a *Farther Discovery* of the *Venom* of *him* that gave the *Dictate*. This is a way chalk'd-out, not only for the *Encouragement*, but almost the *Canonizing* of *Conspirators*. Here is an *Acknowledgement* however, that my

my *Lord* **Could** have *Accused Others*, if he **would**. We shall come now to the Matter of *Fact*.

[*As to the Conspiring to seize the Guards, which is the Crime for which I am Condemned, and which was made a* Constructive Treason *for taking away the* Kings Life, *to bring it within the Statute of* Edw. 3. *I shall give this true and Clear Account. I never was at Mr.* Shepheard's *with that Company but once, and there was no* undertaking *then of Securing, or seizing the Guards; nor none appointed to* View, *or* Examine *them; Some Discourse there was, of the* Feasibleness *of it; And several times by* **Accident**, *in* **General Discourse**, *elsewhere. I have heard it Mentioned as a thing might easily be done; but never* Consented *to as* **Fit** *to be done, And I remember particularly, at my Lord* Shaftsburys, *there being some* **General Discourse** *of* **this Kind**, *I immediately flew out, and Exclaimed against it, And ask'd* [If the thing succeeded what must be done next, but, *Massacring* the *Guards*, and killing them in Cold Blood?] *which I look'd upon as so Detestable a thing, and so like a* Popish Practice, *that I could not but* abhor *it: And at the same time, the Duke of* Monmouth *took me by the Hand, and told me very kindly,* My Lord, I see you and I are of a temper. **Did you ever hear so horrid a thing?** *And I must needs do him that Justice, to Declare, that I never observed in him but an* Abhorrence *to* All **Base** Things.]

My Lord was *charg'd* by the *Indictment* of *High Treason*, for *Conspiring, Compassing, and Imagining the Death and Destruction of the King; And the Raising of a Rebellion within the Kingdom.* Now this was a *Consultation* in Order to that end: And for that which is here call'd a **Constructive Treason**, It was much a Plainer Act of Treason then any thing in the Articles against my *Lord Chief Justice Scroggs*; And yet *That* pass'd for a very *Current*,

Current, *House-of-Commons-Treason.* The Paper *says*, that my *Lord* was but *once* at Mr. *Shepheards* with that Company: Mr. *Shepheard* swears it *Twice*, with the *same Company*: But that Slip of Memory shall go for Nothing. There was [*No Undertaking to seize the Guards*,] it seems; nor any [*Appointment to View, or Examine them.*] That's because it was not yet come to a **Resolution**: But here's no Denyal at all, of a *Debate* or *Consultation* toward it: The Exploit was found [*Feisible, and several Discourses about it.*] But said only to be in **General**, and by **Accident**; Is it meant that they **Mett** by *Accident*, and so fell upon *Discourse* only by *Accident*; And that *This Particular* of [*Seizing the Guards*] fell in only as an *Accidental Discourse?* This way of **Disguising** the *Truth* is as Clear to any man that has Eyes in his head, as if it were a *Plain* **Confession** of it; for if it were meant **Good Faith**, the *Author* would have strain'd himself for *another Invocation* of [*the Great God, the Searcher of Hearts, and Judge of All Things,*] to bear *Witness* to the *Explicite Truth* of the *Case*. But [*it was never Consented to as* **Fit** *to be done.*] Now *That* **Fitness** may referr to the **Time**; the **Means**; the **Ways**, the **Instruments**. They had not yet Pitcht upon a *Safe*, and *Effectual Way* perhaps, for the *doing* of it: But there was [*More, General Discourse now of the same Kind at my Lord* Shaftsbury's] And *This* was a *Terrible* **General** *Discourse*, for it made my Lord immediately *Fly out*, and *Exclaim* against it. I wish the Paper had set forth **what this General** *Discourse* was; And what the **Other** was too, that **fell** in by **Accident**; And whether **that General** *Discourse* and **This** *General Discourse*, were not as good as *all one*: But in short; **Such** *General Discourse* it *was*, that it wanted but one step, of *Massacring* the *Guards*; Or *cutting their Throats* in their *Beds*; which, the Paper says,

[*My*

[*My Lord* **Abhorr'd** *it for, being so like a* **Popish** *Practice*] A *Presbyterian Practice* would not have done a miss neither in *This Place*, if a body had had the *Murder* of the *Late King*; *Montross*; The Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*, *&c.* in his thought. But shall any man at last be so *Weak*, as to swallow it, that [**Did you ever hear so Horrid a Thing?**] was only an *Exclamation* upon a **General** and **Accidental** *Discourse?* All the *Rest* went down well enough, till it came to the *Cut-Throat-part* of it. And that was the Point that Startled them: The *Doing* of the *Bus'ness*, either in a *Brave*, *Generous Way*, **Head to Head**; or with *Cap in Hand*; And a Complement of *Loyalty*, and *Respect*, to Desire his Majesty, in *These Dangerous Times*, *to sign a Demise of his* **Three Kingdoms**, to the *Use* of the *Council of Six*; Or to a *Band* of *Associators*, for the Security of his *Sacred Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*; I do not find, (by any thing I see yet) that the *Men of Honour* (if the *Paper-Writer* might have had his Will) would have *Boggl'd* at such a way of *Proceeding*; But the doing of the Thing **Basely**, was the *Business*; And the *Scruple* that was *made*, was upon a Point of *Bravery*, not *Conscience*. But to Continue the Story.

[*As to my going to* Mr. Shepheards, *I went with an* **Intention** *to taste* Sherry; *for he had promised me to Reserve for me the next very good Piece he met with, when I went out of Town; and if he recollects, he may remember I askt him about it, and he went and fetcht a Bottle: But when I tasted it, I said 'twas Hot in the Mouth; and desired that whenever he met with a Choice Piece, he would keep it for me which he Promised. I Enlarge the more upon This, because* Sir George Jefferies *Insinuated to the* Jury, *as if I had made a* Story *about going thither; but I never said,* [That was the **Only** Reason] *And I will now* **Truly** and **Plainly** *add the rest.*]

By

By *this Paragraph*, the Reader is to be held in hand, that my Lords BUSINESS to Mr. *Shepheards* was **to taste Sherry**: And the Paper goes about to *Refresh* Mr. *Shepheard's Memory*, by such and such *Tokens*, the *Word* is [*with an* **Intention** *to taste Sherry*] which in *common Speech*, does fairly insinuate, as if the *Tasting of Sherry* had been the *chief End* of his going; Whereas supposing that to be in his *Intention*, it might be, nevertheless yet, the least part of his *Business*: And further, the Author of this Paper has not thought fit to give us any Sort of *Light*, *what* his Bus'ness was: Nay, Mr. *Shepheard*, on the other hand, *swears* that it was a *Meeting* by **Appointment**, and that there was nothing of the *Sherry-Story* in the Case. My Lord, however, made use of this Suggestion at his *Tryal*; and Sir *George Jefferies* Reflecting upon it to the Jury, this Paper undertakes the *Excusing* of *One shift* with *Another*: The *Tasting* of *Sherry* was *One Reason*, though not the **only Reason.** But we are now to Expect a **True** and **Plain** *Account* of the rest.

[*I was the day before this Meeting, come to Town, for two or three days, as I had done, once or twice before; having a very Near and Dear Relation lying in a very Languishing and Desperate Condition: And the Duke of* Monmouth *came to me, and told me, he was extremely glad I was come to Town; for my Lord* Shaftsbury *and some* Hot men would **undo** *us all: How so, My* Lord, said I? *Why* (answered he) *they'l certainly do some* **Disorderly** *thing or other, if Great Care be not taken, and therefore for God's sake; Use your Endeavours with your Friends to prevent any thing of this kind. He told me, there would be* company *at Mr.* Shepheards *that night, and desired me to be at home in the Evening, and he would call me, which he did. And when I came into the Room, I saw Mr.* Rumsey *or*

the Chimney, though he swears he came in after; and there were things said by some with much more **Heat** *than* **Judgment**, *which I did* sufficiently Disapprove, *and yet for* these Things *I stand* Condemned: *But I thank God* my Part *was* syncere *and* well meant: *It is, I know, inferred from hence, and was pressed to me, that I was acquainted with those* **Heats** *and* **Ill Designs**, *and did not* Discover *them; but this is but* Misprision of Treason, *at most. So* I dye **Innocent** *of the* Crime *I stand* Condemned *for*, &c.]

Here's a short Account of my Lords coming twice or thrice to *Town*; and that he had a Dear Relation lying sick here: But whether he came upon a *Visit*, or upon the *Bus'ness in Question*, the Paper says *Nothing*. The Duke of *Monmouth* Complains to him, as above, of my Lord *Shaftsbury* and *Other Hot Headed Men* that would *spoyl all*; *this Implyes my Lords being Antecedently privy to the matter in hand*; for he takes the hint immediately. [**How so my Lord?**] (says he) without needing to Enquire either *What* **Men**, or *what* **Bus'ness?** The Answer was no more in Effect then This. *There are a Company of mad Fellows, that will out-run the* Constable, *they will be shewing themselves too soon, and make some* Bedlam Attempt or other, *before we are ready for 'em, and then we are All ruin'd.* So that it was not the *Design it self*, but (as This Paper Represents it) the *rash* and *imprudent Manage*, that was taken Check at; And now follows the *Meeting* at Mr. *Shepheards*; which this Paper calls [**Company**] as if it were a **chance** *Company*, not a *Meeting*: But Mr *Shepheard* speaks of it as a **Set** *Company*: And Mr. *Rumsey* was likewise *appointed* to *meet there*. My Lords *Contradicting* Mr. *Rumsey* in a *Circumstance* without any *Exception* to him upon the *main*, looks like a *tacit Admittance* of the rest of his *Evidence*. The Paper speaks further, of [*things that were said by some, with more*

more **Heat** *than* **Judgment**:] but neither says *who spake* them, nor *what* the things were; but 'tis Probable they were *Treason*, by my Lord's *Disapproval* of them: And it would have been well, if his Lordship had at least told the *things*, though without naming the *Persons*. It is Remarkable, that the words are [**with much more** HEAT **than** JUDGMENT] If it had been with much more **Heat** then **Honesty**; my Lords *Disapproval* would have Reflected upon the **Cause**; but with much more **Heat** then **Judgment**, strikes only upon the *Indiscretion*. The Paper thinks it hard, that My *Lord* should be *Condemn'd* for the things which he *Disapproved*, whereas my *Lord* was *Condemn'd* for *Meeting*, *Consulting* & *Agreeing to Raise an Insurrection*, &c. And it is the *Law* that Pronounces the *Sentence*: My *Lords Part*, it seems, was *Sincere*, and well meant. 'Tis a thousand pitties his Lordship was not better *Enformed*, for People under a *Mistake* may do the *worst things in the world* with *Good Meaning*. And then methinks [**Heats** and **Ill Designs**] are too soft a way of Expressing such *Horrible Treasons*. The *Paper* calls it *Dying* **Innocent** *of the Crime my Lord was Condemned for*, and but *Misprision of Treason* at the *most*, in *Concealing* what he was *Privy* to. Here is the *Knowledg* of *Treason* **Implyed**, in the *Misprision* of *Treason* **Confessed**; And there needs not much *Concurrence* with *Traytors*, to make a man *Guilty* of *Treason*. It is to be wish'd My Lord would have *Declared*, what *sort* of *Treason* it was that he was made *Acquainted* with; whether the *Imprisoning* or *Deposing* of the *King*: And by what *Means* and *Instruments* to be *Executed*. Once again now, and I have done.

[*As for the Sentence of* Death *passed upon me, I cannot but think it a very* Hard *One for* Nothing was sworn against me (*whether true or false I will not now Examine*)

but some Discourses about making some **Stirs**. *And this is not* Levying War *against the* King, *which is* Treason *by the Statute of* Edward *the* Third, *and not the* **Consulting** *and* **Discoursing** *about it, which was all that was Witnessed against me. But by a strange Fetch, the Design of* Seizing the Guards, *was Construed a Design of* Killing the King; *and so I was in that Cast.*

And now I have **Truly** *and* **Syncerely** *told what my part was in that; which cannot be more then a* Bare **Misprision**; *And yet I am* Condemned *as Guilty of a Design of* **Killing the King.**

Here's an *Insinuation* of an *Unjust Sentence*, upon *False Evidence*, though *this Paper* **Confesses** as much, on my Lords Part, as was *Sworn against him.* The *Paper* calls it [*Nothing but some Discourses about making some Stirs*] and those *Stirs* are afterward Expounded, to be [*Levying War against the King*] And my *Lord* was *Condemned* for *Consulting* about those *Stirs. These Consultations*, the *Court* Pronounces to be *Treason*: My *Lord* Insists upon it, that they are only a *Bare Misprision*: And that *the Design of Seizing the Guards* is *wrongfully Interpreted* a **Design of Killing the King**. If *this* be so *strange* a *Fetch*, what was it in the House of Commons to make the *Charge* against my *Lord Chief Justice Scroggs* to be **Treason**?

The *Law-Part* has been Learnedly, and Copiously clear'd already, in certain Reflexions upon This Paper, called the *Antidote against Poyson*: The *Ouvert Acts* towards the *Accomplishing* this **Treason**, were abundantly made out at the *Tryal*; and Undoubtedly *That* which was *Good Law* in the Case of my *Lord Stafford* holds as *Good* in the Case of my *Lord Russel*: And *Sir* William Jones's *Opinion in this Point, will weigh certainly against the Opinion of the Author of this Paper.*

[*Will any man deny* (*says* Sir William Jones) *that the* **Meeting**

Meeting *and* **Consulting** *of several men together about Killing the King, and changing the Government is an* Ouvert Act: Lord Staffords Tryal, p. 190.]

Here is enough said, to set forth the *Inconsistencies* of the **Speech Spoken**, and of the **Paper Delivered** *to the Sheriffs*: And the *Disagreements* of that *Paper* with it self in several *Peremptory Denials*, and *Point-Blank Confessions* of the same thing. That is to say, according to the *Popular Acceptation* of *Words* Delivered with *Simplicity* and *Candour*: But then in the *True Protestant Latitude* of **Savings** and **Reservations**; The *Connexion* seems to be perfectly *all of a piece*; And *One Line* serves to *Expound Another*; to the Readers *Infinite Satisfaction*, that there is *Nothing Intended* upon the *Whole*, but *Fallacy* and *Illusion*; bating only here and there a *Stricture*, where it *Cuts* upon the *Government*. In few words; It is a *Reproach* in the form of a *Vindication*: the *Panegyrique* of a *Pedant*, instead of the *Confession* of a *Penitent*. The *Last Prayer* and *Agonies* of a *Dying Christian*, *Dissolved* into a *Flood* of *Calumnie* and *Bitterness* against the *Church* and *State*; and nothing but the *Name*, to Entitle it to the thing it *Pretends* to be: After so *Severe* and *Needful* a *Reflection* upon this *Vagabond Paper*, for it fills *All Months* and *Places*, I reckon it a *Duty* to Accompany my *Zeal* for the *Publick*, in *this Particular*, with all Possible *Justice* and *Respect* to the *Memory* of the *Dead*. The *Unhappy Circumstances* of his *Deplorable Fate* duly *Considered*.

That my Lords *Charge* was **Proved**, and his *Sentence* according to **Law**, his Lordship hath acknowledged under his own Hand (whatsoever this *Ill-natured Paper* may Pretend to the *Contrary*.) In *one Petition* to his Majesty, My Lord does [Solemnly Protest *upon the Word of a Dying Man, that he never had any Intention or* Thought

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of doing hurt to his Majesties Sacred Person, *however if* **Interpretation of Law** *'tis imputed to him, And by his Majesty should be pleased to Execute* **the Rigour of the Law** *upon him; he hoped that God would Enable him,* &c.] *In a second Petition,* His Lordship [*Humbly and sorrowfully* **Confesses** *his having been Present at those Meetings, which he is* **Convinced** *are* **Unlawful**, *and justly Provoking to his Majesty, But being Betrayed by* Ignorance *and* Inadvertence, *he did not Decline them as he ought to have done,* &c.] I have the Charity to Believe now, that really according to the Purport of these Petitions. His Lordships *Great Misfortune* was rather an *Error* of *Principle*, then a *Factiousness* of *Malice*: And it is no wonder, if he were somewhat *deeper Dyed* then *Ordinary*, that had (but too frequently) most desperate *Seducers* at his *Elbow*. What was that *Treasonous* and *Atheistical Libel* of [*Julian the Apostate*] but the very *Scheme* of this *Conspiracy*, and *Calculated* for the *Murder* of the *King*, and the *Dissolution* of the *State*? And it was *the same Poysonous Position* that brought this *Unhappy Lord* to his *Ruine*.

As to this *Pernicious Paper*, I make no question but my *Lord* **Signed** it, and that he made it his **Own**, by so *Doing*: But it holds so little *Congruity* with the *State* and *Exigence* of his Lordships *Case*, that I am perswaded (under his *Anxious Circumstances*) he would have Signed a *Blank* upon the *same Terms*, if the *same Person* had *Presented* it: For there is not one *Syllable* in't that *Avails* him to any purpose Imaginable: It Pretends to *Truth* and *Plainness*; and yet scarce *six Lines* in't without a *Riddle*. It pretends to Discharge my *Lord* of the whole *Indictment*: And yet in several Places, either *Intricates*, or *Confesses* it. It pretends to Deliver the *whole Truth* of the Matter, and yet leaves out the *Meet-*

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ngsi at his *Own* and Mr. *Hamdens* House, where the great Pinch of the Charge lay. Nay the Faction had proceeded so far to the Captivating of this Honourable Persons *Judgment*, that Mr. *Montagues Letter* to the *Lord Treasurer*, bearing date *Jan.* 18. 1678. *St. N.* that was Read in the House of Commons, takes Notice how much the Court of *France* depended upon him, for the *Crossing* (as he calls it) of the *Court-Measures*. [Mr. Ruvigny's *Instructions are by the* Means *of* Will. Russel *and* other Discontented People *to give a Great deal of Mony, and cross all your Measures at Court.*] But to come more particularly now to the miserable Principle that led him to his Destruction.

Upon the *Munday* after my Lords *Condemnation*, the Reverend Dean of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Tillotson*, gave his Lordship a pious and Friendly Visit: Expressing the Extreme *Affliction* as well as *Compassion* that he had for his present Condition: And not without Great Admiration at my Lords being Engaged in a Misfortune of that Quality: But after a little Discourse upon the Subject, the Dr. was much more troubled, to find that my Lord was not only Embarqu'd in that *Pernicious* and *wicked Design*, but *Poss'ss'd* with the *Principle* of his Chaplains [*Julian the Apostat*,] that *Resistance was Lawful in the Case of* Religion, *Liberties* and *Properties being Invaded*: whereupon the Dr. Applyed himself by *Argument* and *Counsel* to the setting of his Lordship right in that Particular, with all the *Freedom*, *Tendern ss* and *Respect Imaginable*: And not without Flattering himself at last, that he had gain'd his point upon my Lords Judgment, who promis'd the Dr. at parting, *to bethink himself seriously of what he had said.*

The next day Dr. *Burnet* tells the *Dean*, that his Discourse had wrought a very good Effect upon my Lord, and

and that *he was now Resolved to do All that might become a man under his Circumstances, and to Discharge his Conscience both towards God and Man.* Hereupon the *Dean* applyed himself forthwith to a Person of Great Honour, with this Account of his Success, desiring that the matter might be Represented to his Majesty, which was done accordingly, (and the best Office, which in such a Case the Dr. could render to his Lordship.)

Upon *Wednesday*, the Dean gave my *Lord* another Visit, when taking for granted, that his *Lordship* continued in his Late Resolution, he entertain'd him only with Preparatory Discourses toward the fitting of him for a better Life.

Upon *Friday Morning*, the Dean Administred to my *Lord* the *Holy Sacrament*, having previously Receiv'd such Satisfaction from him, as the Occasion and the Duty Requir'd. But afterwards, Mr. *Dean* finding him wavering, went his way: And about five or six in the Evening brought him a *Letter*, which was excellently well Accommodated and very pertinently Applyed to the point in Question. The *Dean* Deliver'd the *Letter* to my *Lord* and Discours'd at large upon it, Earnestly beseeching him to Bethink himself, how much it concern'd him not to leave the World under so dangerous a Mistake, but my *Lord* seemed much colder now, than before, the *Dean* however pressing him to Enter into a strict and severe Examination of himself, and so he departed, leaving the *Letter* in his *Lordship*'s hand.

The next Morning (being the Day of his *Execution*) the *Dean* waited upon my *Lord* again, when he found him yet cooler, and utterly Declining any Occasion of farther Discourse upon the Old Matter. Upon this, the Dr. *Desisted*, and Attended him afterwards, and *Pray'd* with him on the *Scaffold*: *Discharging* himself, from first

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ot last in All the Parts of a *Churchman*, and of a *Friend*. A *True Copy* both of the *Letter*, and of the *Prayer* hereafter follows,

July 20. 1683.

My Lord,

I *Was heartily glad to see your Lordship this Morning in that calm and devout temper at Receiving the Sacrament, but Peace of mind unless it be well-grounded will avail little: And because transient Discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore in tender compassion of your Lordships Case, and from all the good Will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordships deliberate thoughts these following Considerations concerning the Points of Resistance, if our Religion and Rights should be invaded, as your Lordship puts the Case, concerning which I understood by Dr.* Burnet, *that your Lordship had once received Satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.*

First, *That the Christian Religion doth plainly forbid the Resistance of Authority.*

Secondly, *That though our Religion be Established by Law, (which your Lordship urges as a difference between our Case, and that of the Primitive Christians) yet in the same Law, which Establishes our Religion it is declared, That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms, &c. Besides, That there is a particular Law declaring the Power of the* Militia *to be solely in the King. And this ties the hands of Subjects, though the Law of Nature and the General Rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not, because the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well subsist upon these Terms.*

Thirdly, *Your Lordships Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrine of all Protestant Churches: and though some particular Persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been*

contradicted herein and condemned for it by the Generality of Protestants: *And I beg of your Lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the* Protestant Religion, *to go contrary to the General Doctrine of the* Protestants. *My End in this is to convince Your Lordship, that You are in a very Great and Dangerous* Mistake, *and being so convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous Nature, as in Truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if Your Lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your Error, by a* Penitent *Acknowledgment of it to God and* Men, *You will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed* Religion. *I am very loath to give Your Lordship any disquiet in the Distress You are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but am much more concerned, that You do not leave the World in a delusion and false Peace, to the hindrance of Your Eternal Happiness. I heartily pray for You, and beseech Your Lordship to believe that I am with the greatest Syncerity and Compassion in the World,*

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Faithful and Afflicted Servant,

John Tillotson.

Dr. *Tillotson's* Prayer upon the Scaffold with the Late LORD RUSSEL.

O *Almighty and Merciful God, with whom alone live the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, after they are delivered from these earthly Prisons, we humbly commend the Soul of this our dear Brother into thy hands, as into the hands of a Faithful Creator, and most merciful Saviour; humbly beseeching thee that it may be pretious in thy sight; wash it, O Lord, from all it's guilt*

n the blood of the immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; That whatsoever Defilements it may have Contracted in the midst of this wicked World, by the lusts of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged and done away, by a sincere and unfeigned Repentance, through thy Infinite Mercy and Goodness in our Lord Jesus Christ, it may be presented pure and holy, and without spot, before thee; O Lord we humbly beseech thee to support thy Servant and stand by him in this last and great Contest, deliver him from the pains of Eternal Death, and save him, O Lo d, for thy Mercies sake, and grant that all we who survive, by this, and other Instances of thy Providence, may learn our Duty to God and the King, and that by this and other like Spectacles of our Mortality, we may see how frail and uncertain our Condition is in this World, that it is all but vanity, and teach us so to number our days, that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly VViſdom while we live, which may bring us to Life Everlasting *through* Jesus Christ *our* Lord, *in whose holy Name and VVords we conclude our Prayers.*

Our Father, &c.

Having done this Right to the *Truth* by an *Impartial Report* of the Matter of *Fact*; And this *Further Right* to the Reverend *Dean*, to *Publish* the *Right* that he hath done to *Himself* in *this Affair*, *I* shall Super-add *this Note*, that he had nothing to do in the *Paper* that has made all this Noise; but to *Condemn* so much as he *Heard* of it. *And* in *Truth* it was *Observed*, that while my *Lord* and the *Dean* were *together*, they had *Neither* Pen, *Ink*, *nor* Paper. Now though 'tis True again, that when my *Lord*, and Doctor *Burnet* were together, there was Pen, Ink, and Paper *called for*; It Concludes nothing yet as to the *Writing of this* Paper. It is said indeed, that upon *Captain Richardsons* speaking to Dr. *Burnet* about my Lords making a *Speech*; he was answered by the Doctor, that *My Lord only intended to speak a* **few words** *upon the Scaffold*; *And that what he had to say else*, **He would leave in a Paper he intended to deliver to the Sheriffs.**

There is more then enough said in Reflection upon this *Scandalous* Paper; that takes so much pains to possess the World that this Unhappy *Execution* was a *Murder*. There **was**, Effectually, a *Murder* in the *Case*. It was in the *Law* an Act of *Justice*: But it was in *Him* that *Poysoned this Unfortunate Gentleman* with that *Seditious Maxim* that brought him to the *Block*, and that afterwards Encouraged him to persist in't: It was in **Him**, I say, the *Basest*, and the most *Treacherous* of *Murders*: *And* I look upon *Julian*, with a Respect to *this Conspiracy* only as the **Rule** to the **Example**, *the* **One Directs** *the* Rebellion; *and the* **Other Proves** *it.*

The End.